In Shelfie G-9 (no. 1896-1904) 1903
FL.12 Maasai FL.12

Ko-ginyama.

Ene oloonkidie l-Maasai, enkigan engoni nanie ee-dino pooro e ilkii, ee'ye ol-kaneiboo.

Ene gi nanie ee-dino lotuo, eshidii ekye ee-nidie o ol-kaneiboo. Enose kilo olpeelidio.

Ene gi nanie enooreti ee-dino, eshidii ekye ee-nidie, enooreti.

Ene go-nidie, nanie le-gidee e'ng-ogoni, le-dooroo nai, o ol-kiteleg inchoo le-dooroo, o ol-kiteleg le-kiarok-ejo. Ee'ye ol ng-ooneibo enye ee-nidie, enooreti.

Ene kito-kiteleg inchoo le-dooroo nee enye olaroijo ol-ngoitoni ejo Pakiteleg.

Ene gi nanie eidie enk e-ligoonyiroi enye, nanie le-dooroo nai (2-kooro nare o enyegee e'le-ngori), eidonijo ol-ngoitoni ejo Pakuro.

Pirpilig lokwa-kooro pakiteere ee lookiboo nare le-enyeje o le-dino.

Marriage[1].

When a Maasai wishes to marry he commences his courtship by making love to a girl while she is still young, and by presenting some tobacco to her father.

He then waits until the girl grows up, when he again offers presents of honey and tobacco.

More honey is given to the father at his daughter's circumcision.

On the young woman's marriage the man presents to his future father-in-law's kraal, and takes with him the dowry, viz. three heifers and two bullocks, one of the latter being sold to keep the ladies company, whilst the other is slaughtered at the door of the hut. The sister also takes a gift of honey and accompanies him.

The bullock which accompanies the heifers is given to the bride's father in order that the two men may call one another Pakiteleg, i.e. the giver and receiver of a bullock, or father and son-in-law.

When the time arrives for the husband to fetch his wife, he takes with him three sheep (two rams and a young ewe). The ram he presents to the mother to enable them to call one another Pakuro, i.e. the giver and receiver of a sheep, or mother and son-in-law.

The two rams are slaughtered together with two others, which the girl's father provides.

[VII]

[1] Formerly no Maasai was able to marry until he had been an armed raid, but nowadays they have the name of the warriors (ol-murran) and unite there as married men (ol-moruak) at a comparatively early age.

Cattle per Gate.

Number of cattle.		Gates		Percentage.
Under 50	—	50	—	10.0%
50 — 100	—	92	—	17.8%
101 — 150	—	105	—	21.0%
151 — 200	—	111	—	22.2%
201 — 250	—	56	—	11.2%
251 — 300	—	51	—	10.2%
301 — 350	—	9	—	1.8%
351 — 400	—	0		
401 — 450	—	0		
451 — 500	—	1	—	0.2%
501 — 550	—	1		
Over 550	—	1		
		502		

An 18,000 cattle were owned by these 502 gates it follows that the average number per gate is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd. If a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will transfer cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact, almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage does. This latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections; for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the women are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullocks for meat-feasts, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Masai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

Another point of considerable importance in Masai family affairs is the adoption of children, frequently practised both in respect of Masai

* The mean number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 200 or between 25 and 50 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

[E] is of animals. It is apparently this fact which explains why there are so few cases of unchastened girls occurring despite the Europeans sexual organization. My informants insist that cases of conception only occur when a girl has been persuaded by a man to have full intercourse just after her menstruation. It is quite easy for a girl to see to it that she does not have full intercourse if she does not want it, since there are always at least two other couples sleeping on the same bed, and there is also always a married woman in the same hut to see to it that no love is used by the men.

(For details of procedure should an unchastened girl conceive, see Girlhood.)

[E] *Permanent Lovers*—Besides the casual day-to-day lovers described above, a girl may also have a more permanent lover in the campsite in which she lives, chosen from among the ranks of those who have been her casual lovers. The actual choosing ceremony takes place in public, but the choice is usually made privately beforehand. This permanent lover in some cases will eventually be the girl's husband, but this is not usual, as usually every Masai girl is betrothed during childhood (see Marriage), and usually girls are quite content to marry those to whom they were thus betrothed. Should a girl be unwilling to marry the man to whom she is betrothed she usually continues to become pregnant by her "permanent lover" and so persuade him to marry her (see Girlhood).

[E] The actual ceremony of selecting a "permanent lover" takes place as a public affair. A group of the warriors, including the man, collect together and one of the man's friends then announces the girl and hands her a spear, and she is told to go and give it to the man she chooses as "permanent lover." Having thus been publicly accepted, the warrior from then on becomes responsible for supplying the girl with such ornaments and necklaces as she may need from time to time, and he also gives her a special necklace to be worn as a token. After this ceremony she continues as before to sleep with any of the warriors who may ask her to do so in the way detailed above (see Sex Life). Equally the man may sleep with any of the other girls, but the girl and her "permanent lover" can arrange to sleep together without adopting the usual formula and procedure.

[E] [64] *The Eunoto Ceremony*—After nine years of *Junior Warriorhood* a big ceremony called *Eunoto* takes place, at which all the members of a given group from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, are required to be present. This ceremony marks their rise from *Junior* to *Senior Warriorhood*. During the whole of the nine years of *Junior Warriorhood* they have not been allowed to shave their heads at all, but their hair has been gradually tied and twisted into a long pigtail at the back of the head, which is the sign of *Junior Warriorhood*. (The only exception to this rule of not shaving the head during *Junior Warriorhood* is in case of severe illness, when the head may be shaved if so desired.)

[300]

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (*see* Marriage).

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *olekelnjatha* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *oletuguet*. Next a ram is killed called *olkelelartat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olbarnet*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

PART V.—MARRIAGE.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married may, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (*see* below).

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:—

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.

(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

584 The method of betrothing an unborn child is as follows:—A man or boy wishing to do so seeks a pregnant woman (provided, of course, that her husband is not of his own sub-clan), and goes to her and anoints her on the stomach either with fat or with red ochre mixed with castor oil. By so doing he pledges that if the child born is a girl he will eventually marry her. Should the child be a boy he is bound to it in friendship for life. In the event of the child being a girl he must, from birth onwards, present the child with small gifts from time to time, and as the girl grows up supply her with such necklaces or ornaments as she may demand from him. A man or boy wishing to betroth himself to an infant girl does so simply by giving the child a necklace, and from then on he must supply her with such ornaments as she may require. Of course, a man must first of all ascertain that the child—whether unborn or an infant—is not already betrothed. A man may cancel a betrothal if he wishes to do so (but he cannot break his pledge of friendship with a boy in the case of a boy being born to a woman whom he anointed when she was pregnant), and the father of a girl may cancel betrothal by refusing to drink any more of the suitor's beer. If a girl, as she grows up, decides that she does not wish to marry the man to whom she is betrothed, she can easily avoid doing so by arranging with one of her lovers to have intercourse with her just after menstruation, and thereby conceiving. She then has the option of marrying this lover should he be willing.

584 884 *Normal Marriage (as a First Wife).*—It is clear from the above description of betrothal that it is unlikely that a girl will reach her time for initiation unbetrothed. Should she do so by any chance, her father would at once make every effort to find her a husband, probably from among the older men who already have several wives. Nor would the girl object in any way, for to be initiated and not be married directly afterwards would make her the laughing stock of all the neighbourhood. When a 585 girl is to be the first wife of a man, it usually means that her husband-to-be is still a member of a warrior group. This, of course, means that he cannot in the normal way live with his wife for some time. This fact, however, in no way interferes with the marriage ceremony and transaction, the presence of the husband not being considered in any way necessary.

[591] The respective fathers of the girl and of the man make all the arrangements and transactions when the girl is initiated (*see* below), and as soon as these have been concluded, and the girl has recovered from the operation and been through the shaving ceremony, she goes to the village of her husband's family, where she has already built herself a hut (or had it built for her by her friends).

As a married woman her main duty in life now is to bear children, just as it was her duty before initiation to avoid conception. If her husband is still in the warrior class and may, therefore, not have any sexual intercourse with her, this is no hindrance [839] to her in performing this duty, as she may now have intercourse with any married men of sub-clans other than her own.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Betrothal

584 A man usually chooses his wife himself and, after obtaining the girl's consent, asks his father to approach her parents; if they agree the girl's head is smeared with fat, and she may no longer live in the same kraal as her betrothed. According to Hollis, a man makes the first approach to the girl's father himself, giving him first tobacco, and later on when the girl is older, more tobacco and honey. It is considered wrong for a girl to become pregnant during the betrothal period, and the engagement may be broken off, a custom of which advantage is taken by girls who are betrothed to a man they do not wish to marry, since betrothals are sometimes arranged without the girl's consent. Fathers, for instance, sometimes arrange betrothals between their young sons and daughters in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them (as also among the Nandi); and betrothals may take place between warriors and babies, and even unborn girls.

Regulation of Marriage

582 614 This depends on three things: clan, age-set, and kinship. (*a*) According to Hollis, marriage between clans is allowed, but sub-clans are exogamous groups (see below, p. 119); a man may marry a woman of another sub-clan of his own clan. Merker says he may not marry a woman of his mother's sub-clan. Tombo ole Mbaei, however, says that though intermarriage between clans is allowed, each clan is an exogamous group; Fosbrooke agrees that the clan is the exogamous group (see p. 120). (*b*) A man may not marry a woman who is by custom considered as belonging to the age-set (*ol-porror*) senior to his own, to his own age-set, or (if he belongs to the Right-hand Circumcision) to a woman of the Left-hand Circumcision. But he may marry one of the same generation[19] (*ol-aji*). See below, p. 117, for details of the age-set system. (*c*) A man may not marry a woman whose relationship to him is closer than that of third cousin, and then only if they call each other *o-le-sotua* and *en-e-sotua*.

Bridewealth

583 Payment of bride-cattle establishes the husband's rights in his wife's procreative faculties and over the children she bears him. The numbers of stock paid seem to vary slightly. Merker gives them as three cows and one ox to the girl's father (the ox being eaten at the marriage feast), and a ewe and ram to her mother (the ram also being eaten). Hollis says the bride's father is given three heifers and two oxen, one of which is slaughtered "at the door of the hut"; on account of the other ox the man and his father-in-law call each other *pa-kiteg*, "giver and receiver of an ox." To the bride's mother are given two rams, which are slaughtered, and a ewe, on account of which he and his mother-in-law call each other *pa-ker* (sheep). Fosbrooke gives the number as two oxen and three cows or heifers, including the "*pa-kiteg*" ox.

Marriage

585 There appears to be little ceremonial at a wedding. The chief occurrence is a feast at the bride's home, of which the bride and bridegroom do not partake. This is followed by a ceremonial journey of the bride to her husband's home; she wears a freshly oiled garment, carries a gourd ornamented with cowries, and is accompanied by two men and two old women; on her arrival, she is given a child to feed. [391] Thomson says that on the day of marriage and for a month afterwards (if I understand him aright) the husband wears female dress.[20] If the husband is still a warrior he may not have sexual intercourse with his wife, though they may live together at

[19] Merker, p. 47.

[20] Discrepancies between authorities may sometimes be due to difference of tribe, and not always to incorrect information or mere misunderstanding.

/44 cont./

584 A betrothal in earliest childhood is not infrequent among the Masai, though also not common by far. In such cases the father of the boy, several months after the birth of a girl, asks for her [572] for his son. Such a betrothal is in no way binding; rather it seems to have only the value and purpose of strengthening a friendship between the two fathers and assuring each other of mutual aid in case of impoverishment. It probably need scarcely be mentioned that in connection with a betrothal in early childhood it is only a matter of the betrothal of the boy to his later first, that is, principal, wife. Usually the betrothal to the later principal wife is not entered into until the boy is 20 or 22 and the girl eight to ten years old. For the former, his father makes the proposal to the mother of the girl, after the bridegroom himself has made sure of the girl's consent. As soon as the mother has then obtained the consent of her husband, she anoints the head of the bride with butter or beef fat, as a sign that the betrothal has been accepted and the girl is now betrothed. As such she is called atesêra. During the period of betrothal the couple do not come together; the bridegroom avoids the kraal in which his bride lives, but, if he should enter it, the girl hides from him. Thus the two live completely separated from each other, and, to be sure, in two different warrior kraals. The bridegroom, first as young warrior [591] (ol barnóti, el barnót), then as actual warrior (ol morâni, el môran), lives with his companions and a corresponding number of young girls in one kraal, the bride, on the other hand, with other 584 young girls and warriors in another, distant one. If the girl be- 848 comes pregnant during this time, it is regarded as a disgrace and usually leads to dissolving the betrothal. If the latter, by way of exception, is not the case, the betrothed ones marry as soon as possible. Otherwise the girl awaits her confinement in the hut of an old woman from among her relatives, and after the nursing period is over she goes to another, distant warrior kraal, in the 582 hope of finding a husband there. Only when the warrior is tired of the military life, when his physical strength falls behind that of the majority of his companions, does he think of getting married, in order not long afterwards to exchange the military life